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ABSTRACT

The focus of this report is on poverty and its relationships to certain individual characteristics as distributed across 3 regions: the Ozarks, Mississippi Delta, and Southeast Coastal Plain. After a broad description of these areas, the study looks at (1) age of household heads, (2) number of persons in households, (3) housing quality (running water), (4) sex of household head, (5) residence and poverty status, (6) age and residence, (7) occupational profile, (8) sources of income, (9) gross farm income and farm tenure, (10) education, and (11) race. Results indicate that the Mississippi Delta had the highest incidence of severe and persistent rural poverty (as defined in this report). Also, three-fourths of the poverty problems were associated with nonparticipation in the labor force, farm laborer occupations, and operation of small subsistence farms. An extreme gap in educational achievement was revealed between the poor and nonpoor and, in general, Negroes comprised a large proportion of poverty populations. Differences in the distribution of poor persons, in their contrasting personal characteristics, and in the particular economic situation of the areas studied suggest the need for several "packages" of interrelated and coordinated efforts linking Federal, state, and local programs to the specific problems of the areas. (DB)

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RURAL POVERTY in THREE SOUTHERN REGIONS:

- Mississippi Delta
- Ozarks
- Southeast Coastal Plain

RC004291

Agricultural Economic Report No. 176
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PREFACE

Rural poverty, a problem of human resource development, varies in extent and severity from one region to another. Over a period of years, the Economic Research Service has published results of investigations on the economic and social characteristics of such underdeveloped areas. These reports provided useful information to those responsible for designing programs to improve human resources.

A series of studies was made under a cooperative agreement with the Office of Economic Opportunity to assess the circumstances and characteristics of poor rural people. Limited financial resources precluded exhaustive studies of all poverty areas, so certain areas with prevalent and severe low-income problems were selected for study. Major criteria for selection of areas were: density of poor persons, continuation of severe economic deprivation over several years or generations, limited sources of income, racial characteristics, limited employment opportunities, and rates of outmigration.

This report compares major findings of the first series of area studies on the Mississippi Delta, the Ozarks, and the Southeast Coastal Plain. More detailed findings were presented in the individual USDA reports that are listed below. The authors of these reports are members of the Economic Development Division field staff. They were responsible for data collection and cooperated in early phases of analysis for this report.

> Characteristics of Human Resources in the Rural Southeast Coastal Plain...With Emphasis on the Poor. Agr. Econ. Rpt. 155. Jackson V. McElveen.
>
> Human Resources in the Rural Mississippi Delta...With Emphasis on the Poor. Agr. Econ. Rpt. 170. John C. Crecink.
>
> Bernal L. Green and Herbert Hoover, ERS, have another study in progress entitled "Characteristics of Rural People in the Ozarks Region...With Emphasis on the Poor."

The focus in this report is almost exclusively on poverty and its relationships to certain individual characteristics as distributed across the three regions of investigation. As a result of this focus, some tables are not directly comparable with those in the three area reports.

The cross-regional analysis could be used to identify target groups for programs to develop human and physical resources.

This report is in part a staff effort of the Rural Poverty Analysis Group, Human Resources Branch, Economic Development Division. Bernice E. Henderson, O. W. Holmes, Helen W. Johnson, and Max F. Jordan assisted in planning and preparing the report.

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HIGHLIGHTS

The Mississippi Delta had the highest incidence of severe and persistent rural poverty (as defined in the report), closely followed by South Carolina. A fourth of the households surveyed in these regions were seriously deprived. About a 20th of Ozark households were equally deprived.

Three-fourths of poverty problems in the areas were associated with nonparticipation in the labor force, farm laborer occupations, and operation of small subsistence farms. These factors were associated with 84 percent of Ozarks poverty and 76 percent of South Carolina poverty. The nonworking population accounted for a large share of poverty in each area because of old age, disability, or lack of job opportunities for their occupational level. Among those employed at the time of the surveys, the Delta farm laborer group constituted a major economic problem. In the Ozarks, older retired people made up most of the poor. South Carolina operators of small farms constituted as great a problem as those not working.

Farm tenure arrangements varied among the poor. In South Carolina, the predominant type of arrangement was sharecropping. In the Ozarks, 85 percent of poor farmers owned their land. In the Delta, poverty was most often found among the farm labor population; relatively little poverty occurred among farmers.

In the Ozarks, most of the rural poor in the households studied were beyond working age. Younger household heads were among the poor in South Carolina, especially heads with several dependent children living at home.

An extreme gap in educational achievement was revealed between the poor and the nonpoor. Three-fourths of poor household heads in both the Delta and South Carolina had attained less than an eighth-grade education. Poor Ozark heads respondents had a higher level of educational attainment: Half the poor heads had reached the eighth grade. Because younger groups attained higher levels of education across all income groups, age was an important factor in relating educational attainment to economic status. Poor Negro respondents reported lower educational attainment than whites.

In both the Delta and the Southeast Coastal Plain, Negroes comprised a larger proportion of the area poverty populations; seven poor respondents in 10 were Negroes. Extreme economic deprivation was more evident among

this group. Forty-eight percent of the Delta Negro household heads and 44 percent of the South Carolina Negro heads were in severe poverty.

Not only were Negroes more likely to be poor, but they were more likely to suffer severe poverty than whites. The effects of sex and age were more clear-cut when compared on the basis of race: male and female Negro respondents were about equally apt to be poor, while white females were more likely to be poor than white males.

Negroes also lacked occupational skills and acquired characteristics that lead to good jobs. They were more likely to be farm and unskilled laborers than whites. The proportions of South Carolina white and Negro farmers were similar, but more Negroes were subsistence farmers.

Because the poor in each of the regions studied demonstrated a number of differing characteristics, while sharing a common lack of economic power, programs for target groups would differ accordingly. In order to meet area development needs, a broad understanding of the structure of regional poverty is desirable. Hence, the hard-core cases need not be the only considerations in the areas studied. There is also a broad poor group further subdivided by potentiality for change. Marginal nonpoverty groups also suggest paths of further productive development.

Since poverty in the Delta was so pervasive and severe, ways of providing income maintenance and providing job opportunities to raise per capita income are needed. In the Ozarks, the poor tend to be concentrated among the older populations. Population characteristics suggest emphasis on the needs of specific target groups. The poor in both the Delta and South Carolina share similar age, educational, and racial characteristics. Small farm operators also presented low income problems in South Carolina. Comparison of these area profiles suggests that different emphasis is needed for each particular type of problem characteristic.

RURAL POVERTY IN THREE SOUTHERN REGIONS: MISSISSIPPI DELTA, OZARKS, AND SOUTHEAST COASTAL PLAIN

by

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INTRODUCTION

Poverty in the rural areas of the United States, particularly in the South, has persisted for several generations among the white and Negro populations. Any organized effort to combat it must recognize its dimensions and the incidence of factors associated with its occurrence.

This report summarizes selected economic and demographic characteristics of three low-income rural areas of the South, and the social and economic needs of people in these areas. Data were obtained by interviews with household heads in 53 of 316 counties in the Mississippi Delta, the Ozarks, and the Southeast Coastal Plain. Stratified random samples of rural household units were distributed within each of the areas as follows: 16 counties were sampled in the Delta part of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Missouri; in the Ozarks (the largest region), 27 counties were sampled in Arkansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma; and 10 counties were sampled in the Southeast Coastal Plain of South Carolina. While no counties that comprise the rest of the Coastal Plain in North Carolina and Georgia were sampled, the sample is considered representative and permits inferences to the region as a whole.

In each study area, sampling was limited to the rural parts of the counties. Hence, all generalizations in this report refer to the overall rural populations within each of the areas studied. In the Delta and the Coastal Plain of South Carolina, a large proportion of the population is Negro. Most of the Ozark population is white.

The Delta

The Mississippi Delta extends from the Bootheel of Missouri to the Red River in Louisiana. The region in this study consists of 42 counties fully

in the Delta in four States: Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Missouri. It has been characterized as the largest single poverty area in the United States and is further characteristic of some of the most extreme types of poverty situations found anywhere in the country.

The region contains major social, economic, and ethnic qualities which differ within subregions. In the North Delta (Northeast Arkansas and the Missouri Bootheel) the population is almost all white, farm size is generally small to medium, and there is a high degree of farm ownership. The South Delta (Southeast Arkansas, Northeast Louisiana, and the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta) is characterized by relatively large holdings, relatively larger numbers of Negroes, and cotton and soybeans as principal crops. The Central Delta, a transition area, is almost entirely in Arkansas. Rice and soybeans are principal crops, the population mix is more evenly divided by race, and small land ownership tracts are interspersed among large plantation holdings.

The overall area may be further described as having relatively little industrial development -- not nearly the amount needed to create jobs for the natural increase of population. Because of declining manpower requirements in agriculture and high birth rates, outmigration, particularly among Negroes, continues at a high rate. Educational achievement levels are among the lowest of the three areas, and reflect great deficiencies in the development of human resources and in community facilities, such as schools and other educational services, clinics and hospitals, and others.

The Ozarks

The region studied included 125 counties distributed as follows: 44 counties in Arkansas, 44 in Missouri, and 37 in Oklahoma. Four broad physiographic areas further subdivide the region: (a) the Ozark Uplands of about 40,000 square miles, covering almost half the region, (b) the Arkansas River Valley, (c) the Ouachita Mountains, and (d) border counties consisting partly of coastal plain, prairie, bottomland, or bottomland terrace.

The Ozark Region is still predominantly rural, despite the growth of urban population centers. In 1960, only 39 percent of the population was in areas defined as urban by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

A high proportion of the land is in timber. However, over half of the timber is on poor sites and of inferior quality, and much of it is in small tracts under poor management. Varied mineral resources within the region have had limited exploitation and development. Hence, much of the land is unsuited to agriculture for crop and forage production. Incomes on the many small farms have been low, causing many people to leave agricultural employment. High outmigration of youth serves to maintain a low educational level for the population. Despite indications of increasingly high individual rates of educational attainment, although educational achievement levels lag behind those of more developed areas. Clusters of retired inmigrants, some of whom have incomes below the poverty line, further complicate the problem of human resource development.

The Southeast Coastal Plain

This area consists of 149 counties in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Although the sample of 10 counties in South Carolina does not include the other states comprising the area, it is considered representative. The Coastal Plain is largely rural, with a predominantly agricultural economy, despite strong industrial growth in recent years.

Agricultural specialization has occurred in tobacco, cotton, and soybeans, with the cultivation of the latter two crops highly mechanized. Tobacco was the major cash crop on 85 percent of the farms included in the study. Most of the acreage in cotton and soybeans is on a relatively few heavily mechanized farms. In contrast, nearly two-fifths of the farms were operated by sharecroppers, and 90 percent of these operated tobacco farms.

The area has continuing nonfarm industrial growth, although not enough to make any significant change in the overall dominance of agriculture. In 1966, payrolls from manufacturing equaled the gross receipts from farm marketings. Nevertheless, a locally retarded growth of industry and a corresponding lack of nonfarm jobs have caused heavy outmigration of the younger generation.

CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO DEGREE OF ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION

A classification system was developed to examine the level of economic deprivation within and across the three areas of study. The method of classification was designed to take into account the number of persons within a household who depend upon a given amount of income (table 1). 1/

The classification procedure is both a practical and flexible means of assessing the economic status of households according to the number of dependent persons. It was not intended to be a precise measure of poverty status and should not be construed as a "scale" of individual economic deprivation. It paralleled to some extent the counting procedure used by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and the Social Security Administration (SSA). Households counted as "poor" by the procedure outlined in table 1 would most likely have been counted by OEO. However, many households classified as "marginal" would probably have also been classified as poor by OEO. For convenience, each class was named to correspond to a degree of economic deprivation as follows:

	Subcategory
Class 1 -- Seriously deprived	Poor
Class 2 -- Deprived	Poor
Class 3 -- Marginal	Nonpoor
Class 4 -- Probably not deprived	Nonpoor
Class 5 -- Definitely not deprived	Nonpoor

1/ Table 1, which includes the poverty format for households, is included with the tables at the end of the report. The ERS classification does not make use of the farm-nonfarm differential included in The Office of Economic Opportunity-Social Security Administration procedure.

Since the marginal group is counted among the nonpoor, the assessment of poverty conditions within each study area tends to be conservative.

The SSA poverty classification for a family of four persons has an income $130 more than in the ERS classification. At other household size income levels, there may be a wider income gap between the two classification methods (table 2).

Without regard for the number of persons in the household, 62 percent of Delta household heads and 55 percent in South Carolina reported incomes less than $3,000 (table 3). In contrast, 44 percent of Ozark heads reported similarly low incomes.

When income and number of dependents within the household unit are considered, the problem of poverty in each area is further magnified. As table 4 indicates, about half the households in the Delta and South Carolina were in classes 1 and 2 (Delta, 53, and South Carolina, 48 percent). In contrast, only about a fourth of the households in the Ozarks were poor.

Comparing areas according to class 1 (serious deprivation) level only, about a fourth of Delta and South Carolina households can be described in such severe circumstances. This contrasts sharply with the Ozarks, where only 5 percent of all households interviewed could be so classified. This difference may partly be accounted for by the relatively greater opportunities for Ozark residents previously involved in farming and nonagricultural occupations to contribute to some type of retirement benefits.

These explanations are further examined in the sections that follow.

Home Food Production

Other procedures for counting the poor, such as the current method used by SSA and OEO, assume a lower poverty threshold for farm residents than for nonfarm residents. The procedure used at the time of the survey 2/ placed the farm poverty level at 70 percent of the nonfarm level, based upon earlier survey findings that farm residents produce a greater share of their food supply. 3/ Food, of course, is only one of the major considerations of a person's economic well-being, and may be overemphasized in terms of opportunities for home production compared with income advantages obtained.

In each study area, the number of households that had planted a garden or produced any of their meat needs for the year before the survey was determined. No information was obtained concerning the quantities or values of foods produced. For a farm person defined as "poor" by OEO to take advantage of the maximum economic benefit allowed under the definition, he should have

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2/ Mollie Orshansky. Counting The Poor: Another Look at The Poverty Profile. Soc. Security Bul. 28(1) 3-29. Jan., 1965.

3/ The 70 percent differential between farm and nonfarm poverty levels was revised to 85 percent in 1969.

a productive garden and produce at least some meat. "Meat" as used here includes primarily poultry, beef, and pork, and points toward another problem; that is, the variety of economic and physical effort required to produce any or all of these particular meat categories.

The findings from the study areas indicate that relatively few of the poor produce any meat, while garden production ranged from six in 10 among the poor in the Delta to nearly eight in 10 in South Carolina (table 5).

In the Delta, an area where severe poverty prevails, 61 percent of the poor households reported having a garden, compared with 53 percent of nonpoor households. The percentage of households reporting gardens and meat production showed a similar pattern in each study area, with the highest proportion among the poor in South Carolina. There 77 percent reported gardens and 37 percent produced some meat.

BACKGROUND FACTORS

Many of the poor may be described as lacking certain characteristics which society, especially the nonpoor sector, considers necessary for economic well-being. The poor share a common set of background factors or characteristics; the existence of a combination of these may make their escape from poverty more difficult to achieve.

Such characteristics as old age, low educational attainment, and disability were highly associated with individual poverty, either as total or partial causes of the problem. However, the extent to which such factors are part of the cyclic, or intergenerational phenomenon is not clear. Among the other factors known to be related to economic deprivation are being a female household head with no adult male present, having responsibility for a large number of dependent children, being an agricultural laborer or operator of a very small farm, or being in a racial minority group.

The overall approach of the area studies was more descriptive than analytical; their major function was to point out the parameters of the problem and the extent and concentration of household heads that share certain characteristics. The ways in which such characteristics may point toward indirect variables related to the problem of economic deprivation is not answered in these studies, although they suggest certain areas of program emphasis.

This section describes the overall background characteristics of the poor compared with the nonpoor in the three study areas. The definition of poverty differs somewhat from that used by the Social Security Administration, as described in the previous section. The poor include classifications 1 and 2 (the seriously deprived and the deprived). The presentation of distributions of factors makes no attempt to determine the degree of causation, or the extent to which certain factors may be statistically correlated.

Age

Comparison of ages of household heads emphasized the contrasts among the three areas and pointed toward differences in social and economic conditions associated with more elderly population subgroups. The Ozarks typically had an older population, with 34 percent of the respondents 65 years of age and older (table 6). South Carolina, in contrast, has a relatively younger population base. At the time of the survey, 18 percent of the household heads were 65 or older. The age distribution in the Delta is intermediate, with 27 percent of its household heads in this category.

Age becomes a poverty-associated factor because many income sources are inadequate or insufficient. Retirement benefits, as reported by respondents, are simply not enough to lift a household head and those who depend upon him out of the deprivation category. The retired person may not have acquired enough economic security in the form of savings or other benefits to maintain his previous level of living.

Number of Persons in Households

Households in the Ozarks, compared with the other study areas, contained fewer persons, a factor associated with the older age distribution of the population in the region. South Carolina, on the other hand, had much larger average households, while the Delta showed a similar trend to a lesser extent (table 7).

Generally, the larger the number of persons in a household, the more likely they are to be in poverty, although this varies with the relative ages of the persons and their stage in the family cycle. The Ozarks Region was an exception, because households there were smaller but still poor. In the three study areas, pressure of population was a salient feature. About half the poor households in South Carolina (51 percent) had five or more persons and about two-fifths of the households in the Delta (42 percent) had this many people (table 8). In the Ozarks, however, less than one-fourth (23 percent) of the poor households reported five or more persons; only one or two persons was much more likely (60 percent). Using the SSA poverty index as a comparison, these distributions compare with 35 percent of all poor U.S. families who reported five or more persons in 1966. 4/

Housing Quality: Running Water

One measure of the quality of housing is the availability and type of running water within the household. The extent to which running water was available contrasts sharply among poor and nonpoor homes. The Delta had the largest proportion without running water. The great majority of the

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4/ Mollie Orshansky. Who Was Poor in 1966? Research and Statistics Note. 23; U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare. Dec. 6, 1967.

poor (70 percent) reported no running water inside the house, and only one in 10 reported both hot and cold water. South Carolina was similar. The Ozarks, among both poor and nonpoor, had better housing than the other areas: Over half of the poor units reported both hot and cold water (table 9).

Sex of Household Head

General observation has shown the greater tendency for female household heads to suffer from economic deprivation. The data from the three study areas lend further support to the link between sex of the household head and the tendency toward poverty. Three-fourths of female household heads in the Delta were classed as poor (table 10). In South Carolina, the proportion was 66 percent. The proportion of poor female Ozark heads in relation to male heads was less -- 39 percent versus 22 percent.

When the marginal group (for this single instance) is considered along with those in poverty, female household heads in the Delta had 9 in 10 chances of being counted among the problem households, and about 8 in 10 chances in the other areas. Looking at it another way, about three-fourths of all poor household heads were males, although female heads had a considerably greater chance of being poor.

While there remain many serious problems linked with households headed by females, table 12 suggests that household population pressure is not a directly associated factor. Poor female household heads tend to head families of fewer persons. The most striking instance of this is in the Ozarks, where about three-fourths of all poor households headed by females contained only one or two persons. In South Carolina, this relationship was less pronounced. The larger household is more likely to be headed by a male, and this associated factor more often is linked to the family life cycle. Since females generally outlive males, a greater incidence of female household heads may be expected among the older population. At the other end of the age span, we would also expect households at the stage of early family growth to be headed by males.

Residence and Poverty Status

In each study area, the proportion of poor households is much greater among the rural nonfarm than rural farm populations (table 13). Poverty among rural nonfarm household heads is most prevalent in the Delta. About three-fourths (77 percent) of the population is nonfarm, but 9 of 10 poor households were classed as nonfarm.

Age and Residence

Closely tied to the overall age distribution of household heads is the prevalence of poor households among the rural nonfarm population. Much of the poverty in the rural nonfarm population is explained by the larger distribution of those 65 and older living off the farm (table 14). The

poor farm population of household heads is mostly within ages 45-64.

The older age distribution in the nonfarm population may be more of a result of definition than an actual migration off the farm. For example, if a person is employed as a farm laborer, is out of the labor force, is retired, or lives on a farm no longer in operation, he would be classified as nonfarm. Hence, many in the elderly poor population may have been open-country residents who at the time of the survey were no longer classified as farmers.

Occupational characteristics of the 45 to 64 age group in each region suggest that they are more likely to be unemployed, are "boxed-in" (small subsistence farmers unable to improve their circumstances) farmers, or female household heads not in the labor force.

Occupational Profile

Among the occupational groups represented, those directly related to agriculture occur most frequently in the Delta and South Carolina, and somewhat less often in the Ozarks (table 15). A relatively larger proportion of agricultural laborers also characterizes the Delta, and partly explains much of the poverty in that area. The Ozarks had fewer people in this group; Ozark occupations were chiefly nonfarm (75 percent). South Carolina has a balanced occupational profile, and may be shifting from a basically agricultural to a basically industrial economy. At the same time, however, the area's technological agricultural development lags, because it is associated with a concentration of small tobacco farm operations.

Forty-two percent of the Delta poor were in agricultural occupations; the largest group was farm laborers (table 16). The nonpoor, on the other hand, were farm operators or managers. Most of the Delta poor surveyed were either not employed or were connected with agriculture. There were very few other occupational classes in the area. South Carolina paralleled the Delta in that farm laborers largely made up the working poor population, although they were proportionately fewer than in the Delta. The chances that a farm operator would be poor were lower in the Delta than in other areas. Nonfarm laboring occupations were more representative of poor household heads.

The Ozark Region was previously described as having a sizable retired population. By far the largest single group among the Ozark poor was retired (66 percent). Farm operators comprised the largest category among the working poor, but there were proportionately fewer of them than in South Carolina. Farm laborers made up a very small share of the total Ozark population.

Sources of Income

Most people in the Delta, regardless of their economic status, received their income from wages. This was particularly evident for household heads

who are poor, and supports the knowledge that a major source of income was agricultural wagework as often reported for the nonpoor as the poor. The nonpoor group, however, has other income sources to account for their status (table 17). The nonpoor in the Delta, for example, more often cite such sources as farming and payments received from rents and interest.

Income received from wages is also the most important source for the nonpoor in the Ozarks. However, the situation is quite different for the poor. Since many household heads are out of the labor force or in retirement, they are less likely to receive income from wages, but rely more often on a number of non-wage sources. Note, also, the low percentage of poor household heads in both areas who receive welfare payments.

The low incidence of welfare payments cited in both the Delta and in the Ozarks no doubt reflects the conditions of welfare qualification peculiar to the study areas. 5/ It is particularly striking that in an area like the Delta, where poverty is so prevalent, indications of participation in welfare programs are so lacking.

The major differences between the two areas suggest that the Ozarks has a broader income base. Table 17 indicates a somewhat more diversified spread of income sources. In the Delta, in contrast, there is a greater limitation of sources from which income can be obtained; most depend upon wages. The distribution of income sources among the poor further suggests the overall inadequacies of these sources in lifting the poor above their level of economic deprivation.

Gross Farm Income and Farm Tenure

In each of the areas, farm operators were a minority among the poor. In the Delta, for example, less than one in every 10 poor households reported income received as farm operators; in the Ozarks, the proportion increased to about two in 10; in South Carolina, the percentage increased still further to about three in 10 (table 18). Persons classed as farm operators were also less likely to be poor in the Delta and the Ozarks, but significantly more likely to be poor in South Carolina.

There is a considerable contrast in the amounts of gross farm income reported. More than half of poor farm operators in the Delta, three-fourths in the Ozarks, and nearly half in South Carolina had gross farm incomes of less than $2,500 (table 19). About two-thirds of the Delta and South Carolina nonpoor farm operators had gross farm incomes of $5,000 and over. The Ozarks' nonpoor cluster in the gross farm income group under $2,500. Their income from other sources helped to place them above the poverty level. These distributions suggest that the type of farm operation common to a particular area is also related to poverty status. In the Delta, there is a heavy emphasis upon technology and large farm size that aid a cotton economy. In South Carolina, the trend is similar although limited to the further adaptation

5/ This may also be accounted for by respondent confusion in not distinguishing between welfare and retirement payments.

of tobacco to mechanical harvesting. Most Ozark farms are subsistence and closely associated with the family unit.

Tenure arrangements differed widely from area to area (table 20). Ownership was the most common tenure arrangement among nonpoor farm operators in all areas. In the Ozarks, ownership was as common among poor farmers as it was among nonpoor farmers -- 86 percent and 84 percent. No single type of tenure arrangement stood out among poor farmers in the Delta: The nonpoor were more likely than the poor to be owners (38 percent and 25 percent). In South Carolina there was an even greater difference between the nonpoor and the poor (58 and 22 percent). Sharecropping was reported among 25 percent of the poor in the Delta and 65 percent in South Carolina, but not at all in the Ozarks.

Education

The relationship of poverty to the number of years of schooling is well-known and well-documented. The poor are often academic underachievers, have higher dropout rates, and are reported to have psycholinguistic problems associated with unsatisfactory academic performance. The link between education and being poor, like the condition of poverty in general, is a complex problem not easily explained in simple relationships.

In years past, education was not valued as highly as it is today, nor was it considered a prerequisite to obtaining a desired job. A few decades ago, a grammar-school education was satisfactory job preparation. Because many of the present day poor are older people, lack of education is likely to relate indirectly to a condition of poverty; many who are old and poor are also undereducated. Without the basic education now needed to obtain many of today's jobs, younger people will remain under a disadvantage in the job market. The young adult has the greatest potential for employment and the greatest chance of being held back because he lacks education.

Lower rates of educational attainment among the younger generation of the poor may be caused by any of several factors: Differences among parent's beliefs concerning the value of education for their children; problems of adjustment to the school environment; relating available job opportunities to school training; racial or ethnic factors; and many others help explain the link between poverty and educational level. Today, most people need at least a high-school education.

In each study area, respondents were asked about their levels of education and their beliefs in the value of education for their children. In households where a child failed to complete his secondary education, a further attempt was made to determine the major reason why he had failed to do so.

Household heads classed as poor reported significantly lower levels of educational attainment than nonpoor heads, who were more likely to report having attained a high school education or better.

Although poor younger household heads generally show increasing trends in the direction of higher levels of educational attainment, educational achievement levels continue to remain below national and regional averages.

Cross-regional comparisons showed that poor household heads in the Ozarks are generally better educated than poor heads in the other areas (table 21). About three-fourths of poor household heads in the Delta and South Carolina reported less than 8 years of schooling (74 and 75 percent). Fifty-one percent of the poor Ozark respondents reported this low level, but attainment was higher for all age and income groups than in other areas (table 22).

Older poor household heads in all areas consistently reported lower levels of education than younger groups. Generational differences partly accounted for lower educational levels among the poor, but correspondingly high educational levels in the Ozarks must be further explained by other factors. The data suggest the following tentative explanations: (a) if attitudes toward education are passed on from generation to generation, they may account for the higher educational attainment of younger Ozark groups; (b) modern farm and nonfarm operations in the region have allowed the younger groups to continue their education without interruption; (c) many older people are retirees who may have previously lived in regions where higher educational norms prevailed; they brought with them beliefs in the value of education which they have transmitted to Ozark communities.

In the Delta and South Carolina, lower levels of education are likely to be related to the agricultural occupations associated with each region. Intergenerational poverty may be more directly linked with the opportunity structure of the areas and to certain cultural factors and attitudes passed on from generation to generation. The idea that these may be changing is supported by the role that age plays in the relationship of education and poverty.

The relationship of age and educational values is associated in the same inverse direction as age and acquired education. The younger generation of poor household heads generally approved of the need for greater educational training for their children; however, area factors intervened to influence the extent to which such beliefs were held. Ending education before high school graduation was more evident in poor households than in the households of the nonpoor. The data also suggested that perceivable economic opportunities may influence educational values and individual beliefs among area residents.

The amount of education considered necessary for children increases with the income level of the household. Table 23 shows that households with incomes of $10,000 and above were more likely to express the need for college education than those with less than $3,000. However, across regions household heads at the $3,000 income level in the Delta and Ozarks were more likely to express the need for college education, while those in South Carolina were more interested in seeing their children finish high school. This suggests the following alternative explanations: (a) the completion of high school for children in poor households would appear to be a more

attainable goal than college; (b) poor household heads may be relatively uninformed about the existing opportunities for their children's education.

Comparing respondents on a cross-area basis, table 24 demonstrates that poor household heads focus their children's educational goals at the secondary level. The nonpoor express higher educational goals for their children which focus at the college level.

Termination of Education Before Graduation

Failure to complete at least high school is a major risk factor of contemporary poverty. The largest percentage of high school dropouts was reported in the Delta, followed by South Carolina and the Ozarks. The study showed that among households with children at home, about seven in 10 (68 percent) in the Delta reported a child who had terminated his education prior to high school graduation. This contrasts strinkingly with the other areas -- four households in 10 (38 percent) for South Carolina and 34 percent for the Ozarks.

Major reasons for dropping out of school as reported by household heads, were marriage or pregnancy (table 25). The latter in many instances was extremely difficult to isolate from the more socially acceptable reason of "marriage." These reasons were reported by poor household heads in the Delta more often than in the other areas. A major response distinguishing the poor and nonpoor in South Carolina was "needed at home." Poor South Carolina household heads expressed a greater need for their children's assistance in farm or home activities than heads in other regions. "Refused to go" was also frequently cited by poor and nonpoor in all areas. Except for the Ozarks, nonpoor household heads tended to give this reason more often than poor heads.

Race

Almost half the respondent household heads in the Delta and South Carolina were Negro -- 48 and 45 percent. Races other than white and Negro were not represented in the sample of these two areas. Whites comprised 95 percent of the Ozark sample; of the remaining 5 percent, 37 of the 65 respondents were Indian. Because this small proportion of the Ozark sample was not significant for the analysis, this area is not considered further in this section of the report.

Negro households in the Delta and South Carolina were more apt to be poor than white households (table 26). In both areas, about eight Negro households in 10 were poor (Delta: 84 percent; South Carolina: 78 percent). Among all poor households, seven in 10 were Negro.

The incidence of extremely deprived households (Class 1) was even more striking when considered in terms of race. Almost half (48 percent) of Negro Delta households were classed as seriously deprived (table 27) but less than one white Delta household in 10 (9 percent) was so classed. South

Carolina's distribution of serious poverty -- 44 percent of Negro households and 8 percent of white households -- was similar.

When the next level of deprivation is considered, Negroes comprise about seven out of 10 poor households in the two areas, but as indicated above, the risk of poverty is greater among Negroes. Associated with race are a number of other variables previously discussed which add to the particular structure of area poverty. Some of these will now be examined within the context of white and Negro characteristics.

Sex of Household Head

The thesis of this section, that race overrides and further intensifies the relative effect of other poverty-linked factors, is demonstrated by the relationship between sex of household head and race. Negro male and female heads in the Delta have about the same risk of being poor -- 83 and 89 percent (table 28). A similar distribution is noted for South Carolina Negroes -- males, 77 percent, and females, 83 percent. For whites, the chances of being poor are much greater for female household heads. Of white male respondents in the Delta, 29 percent were classed as poor, compared with 45 percent of white female respondents. In South Carolina, the difference ranged from 20 percent for white males to 48 percent for white females. However, for each study area, there were about twice as many poor Negro female heads as white female heads.

Age

Delta whites and Negroes who were 65 and older had proportionately even chances of being classed as poor: 32 percent for Negroes and 35 percent for whites (table 29).

In South Carolina, more poor whites were 65 and older than poor Negroes -- 30 percent of the whites and 19 percent of the Negroes. Another difference in age distribution was that poor Negro respondents were more likely than poor whites to be under 45 years of age -- 45 percent of Negroes and 25 percent of whites.

Race appeared to play an indirect and reinforcing role in the relationship of age and poverty, but there are differential relationships between the two areas. The South Carolina sample supports the differential risk factor explanation in the following way: Beyond a certain level, age overrides race in that job opportunities are not favorable for those 65 and older.

Up to retirement age, it would appear that the Negro has a relatively greater risk of being poor than white persons of similar age. High rates of outmigration among the younger groups would tend to influence the age distribution of both the white and the Negro population. However, the relationships between age, race, and poverty are inconclusive.

The higher proportion of whites who are age 65 and older that is counted among the poor is probably explained by different rates of migration for the two races and by relative differences in the opportunity structure of the local economy. The extent to which racial discrimination factors influence the Negro population distribution probably has an indirect and reinforcing influence on the relative weight of other variables more clearly linked to poverty.

Household Size

Negro households among the poor are more likely to contain larger numbers of persons than white households (table 30). Poor whites in both study areas were more likely than were poor Negroes to be in smaller households (Delta--47 and 31 percent; South Carolina--54 and 25 percent).

It was demonstrated earlier that the number of persons in a household and the age of the household head tend to be inversely associated. This relationship further explains the larger proportion of poor whites in households with only a small number of persons. The finding that a larger number of persons in the household is characteristic of Negro households adds support to the contention that race supersedes and obscures other risk factors more clearly visible among the white population.

Education

Greater differences in educational attainment were found between poor and nonpoor whites than among Negroes (table 31). Negro household heads, compared with whites, reported lower rates of educational attainment among both the poor and the nonpoor. Education is a more salient factor of white poverty status, but becomes somewhat obscured among the Negro population. Higher levels of education are more likely to be associated with the nonpoverty status of whites, but the parallel relationship for Negroes is not supported. Although the nonpoor Negro population is small in both study areas, over half of these household heads interviewed reported less than 8 years of education.

Occupation

In light of the high incidence of poor Negroes, what can be said about some of their occupational characteristics which may further explain their social and economic problems?

First, it is clear that Negroes are more often engaged in agricultural than in nonagricultural occupations (table 32). Compared with whites, there are proportionately many more Negroes in both study areas who are classed as farm laborers. In the Delta, about half (47 percent) the white respondents reporting occupations were farmers and farm managers, contrasted with about one in 10 (13 percent) among Negroes. Negro respondents in the Delta were much more likely to report they were farm laborers (47 and 14 percent).

In South Carolina, there were approximately the same proportions of whites and Negroes classified as farmers, but there were proportionately 8 times as many Negroes as whites who were farm laborers (24 and 3 percent). Negroes also demonstrate relatively greater chances of being included among other lower-status occupations such as nonfarm laborers, private household workers, and other service occupations. Other occupational classes had relatively greater representation among the white population surveyed.

Occupation, Race, and Poverty

Major differences between poor and nonpoor groups by race occurred in the farm operator class. Among the Delta poor, a larger percentage of whites than Negroes were classified as farm operators (table 33). Poor Negroes were more often classed as farm laborers, although nonpoor Negroes were also heavily represented among farm and nonfarm laboring occupations. The same general distribution also held for the South Carolina sample. Among the nonpoor, Negroes were more likely to be classified as laborers, and compared with the Delta, a larger proportion of Negroes were farm operators.

In summary, when various factors are further cross-classfied by race, many of the relationships between them and poverty status are reduced in the strength of their association. This suggests that race (in this case being Negro) has an overriding influence on many of the background factors discussed earlier, and cannot be necessarily treated at the same level as much factors as age, occupation, household size, and the like. Such factors play a much greater role in explaining white poverty than appears to be the case for Negroes.

SPECIAL LIMITATIONS TO LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

Generally, nonparticipation in the civilian labor force is directly associated with poverty. However, in rural areas many of the poor hold jobs. In particular, the economic situation of rural people is perhaps best described as that of the stable but employed poor. 6/ Hence for many rural residents, underemployment and the lack of an adequate wage serve to further define the structure and persistence of poverty.

Because they lack the occupational skills and other desirable characteristics considered necessary for obtaining and holding steady employment -- such as physical fitness and functional work attitudes -- many rural residents will continue in poverty. Many must change to off-farm jobs, while still others outside the labor force will continue to be poor because of job requirements that minority racial groups may not be qualified by education or experience to fill.

Labor force participation (table 34) was lowest in the Ozarks (61 percent) and highest in South Carolina (81 percent), followed by the Delta

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6/ S.M. Miller. "The American Lower Class--A Typological Approach." Soc. Res., Spring 1964.

(73 percent). These findings support the age distributions and their relationship to individual poverty discussed in the section on background factors. Retirement was a major reason for nonparticipation in the labor force in all areas, and in the Delta was often reported in connection with disability (59 percent). Compared with other areas, a larger percentage of Ozark household heads reported themselves as housewives, a factor which is also linked to the older age distribution of the Ozarks area.

When employment status is further examined according to poverty status, the poor are less likely to be employed than the nonpoor. However, South Carolina was an exception to this finding; the poor had about the same proportion of employed household heads as the nonpoor (table 35). Employment included part-time as well as full-time work. In the Delta and the Ozarks, retirement and disability were leading characteristics of the poor. Disability connected with retirement was mentioned much more often in the Delta among the poor than among the nonpoor. South Carolina was the only area where retired household heads were more likely to be classed nonpoor than poor.

Occupations associated with agriculture consistently showed higher incidences of partial disabilities than nonagricultural groups (table 36). By definition, total disabilities were eliminated from the classification since occupation only refers to those in the labor force.

Poor household heads 65 years and older were generally more likely to report a disability than those who were younger (table 37). Disability among the older population was more evident in the Delta and in South Carolina than in the Ozarks; the opposite was true for all age levels under 65 in the Ozarks. About seven in 10 poor household heads 65 and older in these areas reported at least some disability. On a cross-area basis, total disabilities were more evident among this age group in South Carolina.

AREA DEVELOPMENT NEEDS

It is unlikely that poverty can be completely eradicated by aiming at hard-core cases alone. This is one argument for aiming area antipoverty programs at the total picture of human resource development, which must include a broad understanding of the structure of poverty in terms of the region's economy, physical geography, and history, as well as the attitudes and values of the inhabitants.

James Maddox and others 7/ have suggested that the most effective development policies for contributing to the welfare of Southern people will be programs with the major goal of increasing per capita productivity. According to Maddox:

> This concept of regional growth traces low Southern productivity to insufficient

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7/ James [illegible] Maddox, and others. The Advancing South: Manpower Prospects and Problems. Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1967.

> past investments--in physical capital, in research to engender technological advance, and in the education of the people--and to institutional arrangements that for generation after generation have limited the incentives, the opportunities, and hence, the abilities--of thousands of Southerners to develop fully their potentialities.

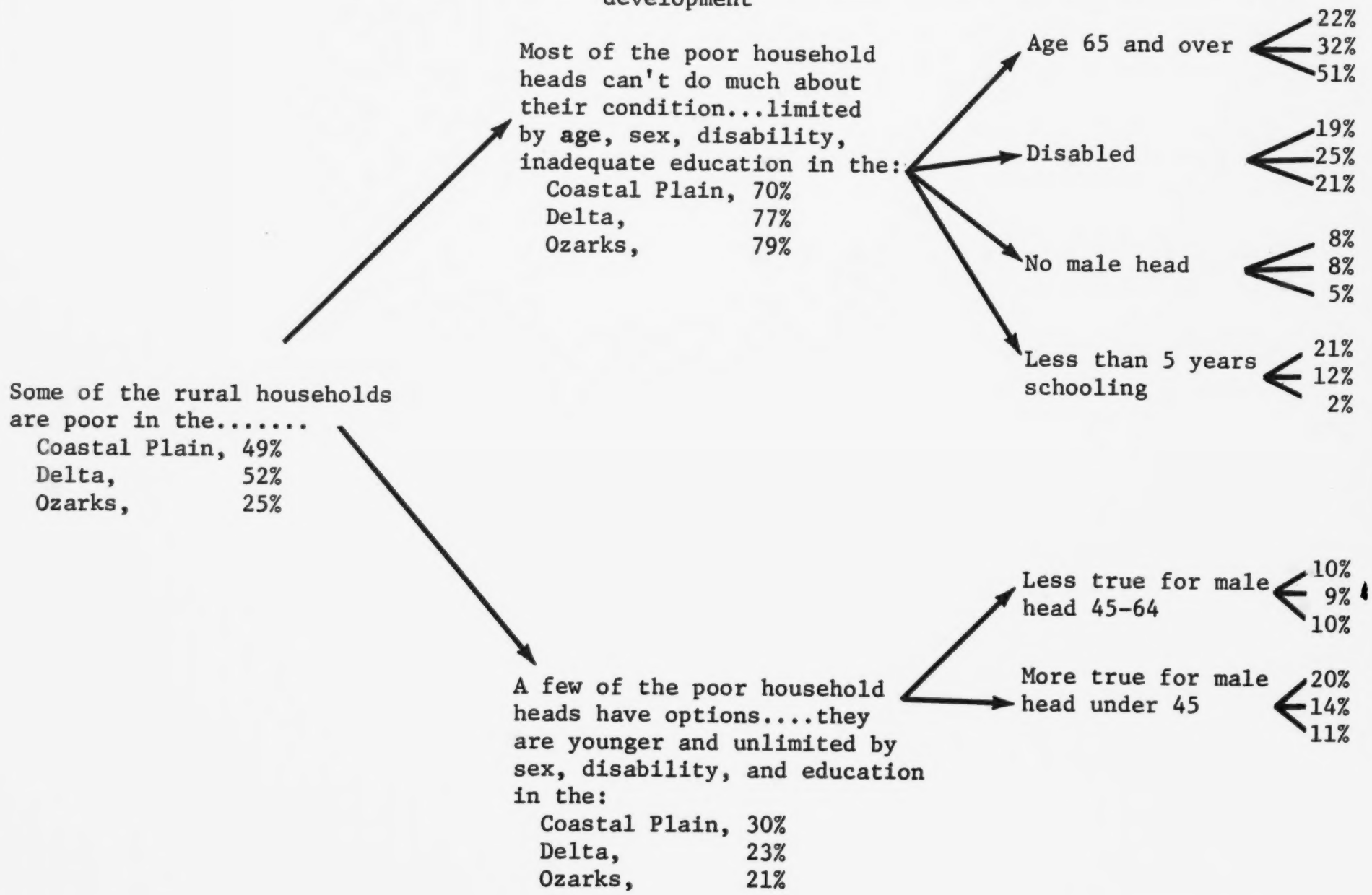
On the other hand, the greatest immediate returns in human resource development are those which come from the creation of special marketable skills in a relatively short time. This is what is sometimes referred to as "betting on the strong." The strong are those who have potential -- something to build on: literacy, productive years left before retirement, mobility, good health (or at least not disabled), and freedom from responsibility for care and supervision of dependents. While the main thrust of the antipoverty battle may lie with people who have these assets, the very needy should, at the same time, also be given assistance. The very needy are most likely to be either classic welfare cases or those with insufficient retirement benefits. Persons who lack labor force potential need attention. Many of the poor who demonstrate potential share similar circumstances, and are often in the same households and communities as those with relatively no potential. Individual needs of the multiproblem family can be aided as a unit within the community.

Differences in the distribution of poor persons, in their contrasting personal characteristics, and in the particular economic situation of the areas studied suggest the need for several "packages" of interrelated and coordinated efforts linking Federal, State, and local programs to the specific problems of areas.

The poor, as has been repeatedly asserted, are one of the major groups adversely affected by advancing technology. Poverty is the usual plight of people who could not adapt themselves to these changes or failed to recognize the contingencies of the future (fig.1). People in the areas studied were no exception. The challenge to many came decades ago and they could not, or were not willing, to make the necessary changes to keep pace with the advancing wave of economic change. Local traditions, family, and intergenerational factors have contributed to the peculiar characteristics of rural as well as urban poverty. Yet, as we have demonstrated, area profiles of poverty differ in important ways which suggest that programs applicable to one area may not be appropirate for another. In each area studied, existing programs can be applied with different degrees of emphasis, or with some programs omitted altogether. There are clear-cut reasons why the focus and characteristics of programs for area development should be designed to meet the particular needs of the local target populations.

Throughout this report, the problem of poverty has been discussed in terms of the relative dissimilarities among the people in the areas of study. However, all of the areas share a common problem of basic human resource development while differing in extent and type of need. Because of the variety of differences among the particular area populations and the

Figure 1.--Southern regional poor group characteristics, limitations and options for development



degree of economic deprivation, strategies need to be designed with different points of emphasis.

GENERAL NOTES ON TABLES

(a) In some instances tables may not add to 100 percent because of rounding.

(b) Income information was unobtainable for 93 respondents in the Delta. Twenty-eight of these responses were refusals.

(c) The Ozark Region is excluded from tables 26-37 because the number of Negro and other minority race respondents was not significant for the analysis.

Table 1.--Relative income deprivation based on the relationship of income to household size, 1966

Household income ranges	1 Seriously deprived	2 Deprived	3 Marginal	4 Probably not deprived	5 Definitely not deprived
	Household size-income class				
$0 - $999.....	2 or more persons	1 person	---	---	---
$1,000-$1,999.....	5 or more persons	2, 3, or 4 persons	1 person	---	---
$2,000-$2,999.....	9 or more persons	4-8 persons	2-3 persons	1 person	---
$3,000-$4,999.....	---	8 or more persons	4-7 persons	2-3 persons	1 person
$5,000-$7,499.....	---	---	9 or more persons	4-8 persons	1-3 persons
$7,500-$9,999.....	---	---	---	6 or more persons	1-5 persons
$10,000 - over.....	---	---	---	9 or more persons	1-8 persons

Table 2.--Comparison of ERS income deprivation categories and SSA poverty thresholds

Persons in household	Highest income for household to be classed as poor, 1966	
	SSA 1/	ERS 2/
	Dollars	
1	1,539	999
2	1,989	1,999
3	2,439	1,999
4	3,129	2,999
5	3,684	2,999
6	4,134	2,999
7	4,634	2,999
8	5,134	4,999
13	7,634	4,999

1/ The Social Security Administration nonfarm poverty income thresholds are actually $1 more than the amounts in this column. (Any household of a given size with an annual income less than the threshold is considered poor.) For example, a 1-person household with income less than $1,540 is poor.

2/ The ERS income deprivation classification scheme was developed for use in the typology of poverty studies by economists and sociologists associated with the studies. These are upper limits of income ranges selected. The relative conservativeness of the poverty classification scheme can be adjudged by examining the proportions of the families in 1,3,5,6, or 7-person households.

Table 3.--Total household income, all households, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Household income	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
$0 - $999	252	20	98	7	166	17
$1,000-$1,999	330	26	295	21	205	20
$2,000-$2,999	195	16	220	16	177	18
$3,000-$4,999	156	13	328	23	184	18
$5,000-$7,499	102	8	271	19	137	14
$7,500-$9,999	43	4	98	7	62	6
$10,000 & over	78	6	92	6	71	7
Not reported	65	5	11	1	0	0
Refusal	28	2	0	0	0	0
Total	1,249	100	1,413	100	1,002	100

Table 4.--Number and percentage of household units in various income deprivation classes, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Income deprivation class	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1 - Seriously deprived	319	26	70	5	244	24
2 - Deprived	333	27	286	20	243	24
3 - Marginal	189	15	401	28	167	17
4 - Probably not deprived	139	11	313	22	165	17
5 - Definitely not deprived	176	14	335	24	183	18
Undetermined	93	7	8	1/	---	---
Total respondents	1,249	100	1,413	100	1,002	100

1/ Less than 1 percent.

Table 5.--Home food production by poor and nonpoor households, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Food production	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor
	Percent					
Planted a garden	61	53	68	58	77	69
Produced meat	27	19	28	42	37	36
	Number					
Total	652	504	353	1,060	487	515

Table 6.--Age distribution of household heads, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Age of household head	Delta	Ozarks	South Carolina
	Percent		
65 and older	27	34	18
45 thru 64	39	35	39
35 thru 44	17	16	23
Under 35	16	15	20
	Number		
Total	1/ 1,249	1,413	1,002

1/ Does not add to 100 percent because 1 percent of the respondents refused to disclose their age.

Table 7.--All households: Distribution of number of persons per household, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Number of persons per household	Delta	Ozarks	South Carolina
	Percent		
1 or 2	39	51	28
3 or 4	28	28	32
5 or more	33	21	40
	Number		
Total	1,249	1,413	1,002

Table 8.--Number of persons in poor and nonpoor households, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Number of persons per household	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor
	Percent					
1 or 2	36	45	60	48	25	30
3 or 4	22	35	17	32	24	40
5 or more	42	20	23	20	51	30
	Number					
Total	652	504	353	1,060	487	515

Table 9.--Water availability in poor and nonpoor households, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Type of running water	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor
	Percent					
None in household	70	16	31	11	65	14
Running water in household	30	84	69	89	35	86
Cold only	20	31	16	7	14	8
Hot & cold	10	53	53	82	21	78
	Number					
Total	652	504	353	1,048	487	515

Table 10.--Household economic deprivation class, by sex of household head, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Deprivation class	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	Percent					
In poverty (classes 1&2)	52	75	22	39	45	66
Marginal (classes 3)	17	15	26	42	18	12
Not in poverty (classes 4&5)	31	10	52	19	37	22
	Number					
Total	949	207	1,165	237	844	158

Table 11.--Poor households by sex of head, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Sex of household head	Delta	Ozarks	South Carolina
	Percent		
Male	76	74	78
Female	24	26	22
	Number		
Total	652	353	487

Table 12.--Persons in poor households by sex of head, Delta, Ozarks, South Carolina, 1966

Number of persons per household	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	Percent					
1 or 2	30	53	55	75	21	40
3 or 4	23	22	19	12	24	28
5 or more	47	25	26	13	55	32
	Number					
Total	497	155	260	93	382	105

Table 13.--Percentage distribution of all households and poor households by residence, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Rural residence	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	All	Poor	All	Poor	All	Poor
	Percent					
Farm	23	10	21	20	31	30
Nonfarm	77	90	79	80	69	70
	Number					
Total	1,249	652	1,413	353	1,002	487

Table 14.--Poor and nonpoor household heads, by age and rural residence, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Age of household head	Delta				Ozarks				South Carolina			
	Poor		Nonpoor		Poor		Nonpoor		Poor		Nonpoor	
	Farm	Nonfarm	Farm	Nonfarm	Farm	Nonfarm	Farm	Nonfarm	Farm	Nonfarm	Farm	Nonfarm
	Percent											
65 and over	16	35	9	33	33	55	20	31	10	26	13	17
Under 65	84	65	91	67	67	45	80	69	90	74	87	83
45-64	62	37	63	31	49	24	53	33	44	36	54	34
35-44	11	15	13	13	11	13	18	17	29	19	27	21
Under 35	11	13	15	23	7	8	9	19	17	19	6	28
	Number											
Total	63	577	201	296	70	283	223	837	145	342	168	347

Table 15.--Occupational characteristics of all household heads, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Occupation	Delta	Ozarks	South Carolina
	Percent		
Farmers, farm managers	33	23	34
Farm laborers	29	2	13
Subtotal	62	25	47
Professionals	3	7	4
Managers	2	11	6
Clerical	1	4	1
Sales	1	2	3
Craftsmen	6	18	11
Operatives	9	20	10
Service (other than private household)	4	6	3
Private household	2	---	2
Laborers, other than farm	10	7	13
	Number		
Total respondents 1/	883	818	787

1/ Excludes those unemployed and not in the civilian labor force.

Table 16.--Occupation of poor and nonpoor household heads, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Occupation	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor
	Percent					
Prof, technical & kindred	---	5	1	5	1	6
Manager, office, proprietor	---	2	2	8	1	9
Craftsman, foreman, kindred	2	7	4	13	3	13
Operative and kindred	7	6	4	14	4	11
Service worker	2	4	2	4	3	2
Private households	2	---	---	---	2	---
Laborers, other than farm	5	9	3	5	10	10
Farm & farm managers	10	40	15	13	28	25
Farm laborers	32	7	2	1	19	2
Other 1/	---	2	1	5	---	7
Not employed 2/	40	18	66	32	29	15
	Number					
Total	652	504	353	1,049	487	515

1/ Includes all other occupational classes.
2/ Includes unemployed, not in labor force, and Armed Forces categories.

Table 17.--Sources of income mentioned by poor and nonpoor household heads, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Income source	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor
	Percent					
Wages and salaries	60	56	20	60	52	64
Farming and other businesses	10	39	25	25	30	32
Rents, interest, and dividends	4	11	13	13	5	11
Retirement benefits	31	25	39	24	20	16
Unemployment compensation	2	5	11	12	1/ 6	1/ 8
Welfare	11	3	8	3	2/ 11	2/ 2
	Number					
Total respondents	3/ 652	3/ 504	3/ 353	3/ 1,060	487	4/ 444
Total mentions	768	700	440	1,457	608	591
Mention per 100 respondents	118	139	125	137	125	133

1/ Unemployment, workmen's, and veteran's disability compensation, etc.
2/ Old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to totally and permanently disabled.
3/ Numbers are not comparable with percentages.
4/ Excludes 71 household heads with incomes of $10,000 or more for which data were not obtained by income source.

Table 18.--Poor household heads reporting income from farm operations, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Poverty group	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Farm operators as a percentage of all household heads	53/652	8	70/353	20	145/487	30
Farm operators as a percentage of all farm operators	53/293	18	70/293	24	145/313	46

Table 19.--Gross farm income of poor and nonpoor farm operators, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Gross farm income	Delta 1/		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor
	Percent					
Under $1,000	28	9	44	36	19	4
$1,000-2,499	29	11	32	28	26	14
$2,500-4,999	15	14	10	14	31	21
$5,000 & over	28	66	14	22	24	61
	Number					
Total	53	190	70	223	145	162

1/ Excludes 44 farm operators in the Delta who could not, or would not, give farm income information, and 6 Delta farm managers.

Table 20.--Tenure of poor and nonpoor farm operators, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Farm tenure	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor
	Percent					
Own	25	38	85	84	22	58
Own and rent	16	25	3	5	3	20
Rent	24	25	10	9	10	6
Sharecrop	25	4	---	---	65	15
Other	10	8	2	2	---	1
	Number					
Total	63	230	70	223	143	168

Table 21.--Years of formal education, poor and nonpoor household heads, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Years of completed education	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor
	Percent					
Less than 5	44	16	24	9	46	12
5 thru 7	30	19	27	15	29	20
8	12	18	31	26	10	12
9 thru 11	11	18	10	18	10	22
12 or more	3	29	8	32	5	34
	Number					
Total	652	504	353	1,049	486	515

Table 22.--Years of completed formal education, poor household heads by age, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Years of completed education	Delta					Ozarks					South Carolina				
	Age					Age					Age				
	65 & over	45-64	35-44	Under 35	Total	65 & Over	45-64	35-44	Under 35	Total	65 & Over	45-64	35-44	Under 35	Total
	Percent														
Less than 5	53	48	38	13	44	33	17	18	---	24	55	48	50	26	46
5 thru 7	21	35	32	39	30	25	35	20	19	27	24	34	27	29	29
8	17	11	8	10	12	31	34	23	26	31	12	7	10	14	10
9 thru 11	6	4	20	29	11	6	9	25	22	10	5	7	10	22	10
12 or more	3	2	2	9	3	5	5	14	33	8	4	4	3	9	5
	Number														
	210	251	97	82	640	181	102	44	27	354	104	186	107	89	486

Table 23.--Amount of education household heads believe their children need, by income level, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Level of necessary education	Less than $3,000	$3,000-4,999	$5,000-7,499	$7,500-9,999	$10,000 over	Total (No.)
	Percent					
DELTA						
Less than 12 years	6	3	---	4	2	
Finish high school	34	20	19	21	5	
Any college	56	76	75	68	91	
Other 1/	4	1	6	7	2	
Total (number)	396	90	67	28	57	638
OZARKS						
Less than 12 years	3	2	1	---	---	
Finish high school	36	27	15	12	4	
Any college	59	70	81	83	94	
Other 1/	2	1	3	5	2	
Total (number)	157	216	188	64	47	672
SOUTH CAROLINA						
Less than 12 years	11	3	---	---	---	
Finish high school	56	37	16	11	18	
Any college	32	57	84	81	80	
Other 1/	1	3	---	8	2	
Total (number)	384	145	113	48	59	749

1/ Includes trade, technical, and business schools.

Table 24.--Respondents' opinion of amount of formal education children need, poor and nonpoor household heads, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966 1/

Level of necessary education	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor
	Percent					
Less than 12 years	6	2	4	1	11	1
Complete high school	36	18	38	20	58	24
College	58	80	58	79	31	75
	Number					
Total respondents	353	304	130	529	373	362

1/ Asked only of respondents with children.

Table 25.--Reasons for youngest child, dropping out before completing high school, poor and nonpoor households, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Major reason for dropping out of school	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor
	Percent					
Marriage or pregnancy	35	24	28	32	24	19
Refused to go	26	31	20	19	20	27
Wanted work	15	21	16	20	18	20
Needed at home	13	13	12	8	25	13
Poor grades	5	3	1	2	6	10
Poor health	4	2	5	4	3	6
Mentally retarded	0	6	2	2	4	5
Other	2	0	16	13	0	0
	Number					
Total	159	70	191	279	197	83

Table 26.--Incidence of Negro and poor households, Delta and South Carolina, 1966

Item	Delta	South Carolina
	Percent	
Negro households as a percentage of all households	48	45
Poor households as a percentage of nonwhite households	85	78
Negro households as a percentage of poor households	72	73

Table 27.--Distribution of households in various degrees of income deprivation, by race, Delta and South Carolina, 1966 1/

Degree of income deprivation	Delta		South Carolina	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
	Percent			
One: Seriously deprived	9	48	8	44
Two: Deprived	22	37	16	34
Three: Marginal	23	9	19	14
Four: Probably not deprived	19	4	25	6
Five: Definitely not deprived	27	2	32	2
	Number			
Total respondents 2/	602	554	549	453

1/ The Ozark Region is excluded from analysis because only 65 household heads interviewed were Negro or races other than white.

2/ Excludes 93 respondents in the Delta because of insufficient income information for classification purposes.

Table 28.--Income deprivation class by sex and race of household head, Delta and South Carolina, 1966 1/

Income deprivation class	Delta				South Carolina			
	Negro		White		Negro		White	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	Percent							
Poor (classes 1&2)	83	89	29	45	77	83	20	48
Marginal (class 3)	10	7	22	31	15	9	20	15
Nonpoor not in poverty (classes 4&5)	7	4	49	24	8	8	60	37
	Number							
Total	414	140	535	67	368	85	476	73

1/ The Ozark Region is excluded from analysis because only 65 household heads interviewed were Negro or races other than white.

Table 29.--Age of poor and nonpoor household heads, by race, Delta and and South Carolina, 1966 1/

Age of household head	Delta				South Carolina			
	Poor		Nonpoor		Poor		Nonpoor	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
	Percent							
65 and older	32	35	25	22	19	30	14	16
Under 65	68	65	75	78	81	70	86	84
45 - 64	38	42	41	37	36	45	46	39
35 - 44	17	11	16	20	26	11	23	24
Under 35	13	12	18	21	19	14	17	21
	Number							
Total respondents 2/	456	184	85	412	355	132	98	417

1/ Ozarks excluded because only 65 respondents were other than white.
2/ Excludes 93 respondents in the Delta who could not be classified because of insufficient information. Age information was unobtainable from 19 respondents.

Table 30.--Poverty status and race of household heads by number of persons in household, Delta and South Carolina, 1966 1/

Number of persons in household	Delta				South Carolina			
	Poor		Nonpoor		Poor		Nonpoor	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
	Percent							
1 or 2	31	47	55	44	25	54	7	22
3 or 4	22	25	27	36	23	29	28	45
5 or more	47	28	18	20	52	17	65	33
	Number							
Total	467	185	87	417	364	184	89	365

1/ The Ozark Region is excluded from analysis because only 65 household heads interviewed were Negro or races other than white.

Table 31.--Years of formal education completed among poor and nonpoor household heads by race, Delta and South Carolina, 1966 1/

Level of education	Delta				South Carolina			
	Poor		Nonpoor		Poor		Nonpoor	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
	Percent							
Less than 5	47	36	30	13	52	30	29	8
5 thru 7	31	27	22	19	29	30	24	19
8	8	21	18	19	8	16	13	12
9 thru 11	11	11	14	18	9	14	16	23
12 or more	3	5	16	31	2	10	18	38
	Number							
Total	467	185	87	417	354	132	98	417

1/ The Ozark Region is excluded from analysis because only 65 household heads interviewed were Negro or races other than white.

Table 32.--Occupation of household heads by race, Delta and South Carolina, 1966 1/

Occupation	Delta		South Carolina	
	Negro	White	Negro	White
	Percent			
Farmers, farm managers	13	50	36	32
Farm laborers	47	14	24	3
Subtotal	60	64	60	35
Professionals	2	4	2	6
Managers	1	3	2	10
Clerical	---	1	---	2
Sales	---	2	---	6
Craftsmen	5	7	4	17
Operatives	12	6	7	12
Service (other than private household)	6	3	4	2
Private household	4	---	3	1
Laborers, other than farm	10	10	18	9
	Number			
Total respondents	402	481	364	423

1/ The Ozark Region is excluded from analysis because only 65 household heads interviewed were Negro or races other than white.

Table 33.--Occupation of poor and nonpoor household heads, by race, Delta and South Carolina, 1966 1/

Occupation	Delta				South Carolina			
	Poor		Nonpoor		Poor		Nonpoor	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
	Percent							
Farmers, farm managers	11	33	20	54	37	46	30	30
Farm laborers	55	48	24	6	29	13	9	1
Subtotal	66	81	44	60	66	59	39	31
Professionals	---	---	5	5	1	2	6	7
Managers	---	---	2	4	1	3	3	12
Clerical	---	---	1	1	---	---	1	2
Sales	---	1	---	2	---	---	---	7
Craftsmen	2	5	11	8	4	10	5	18
Operatives	14	3	8	6	6	4	12	14
Service (other than private household)	5	1	11	3	4	7	5	1
Private household	5	---	3	---	3	3	2	---
Laborers, other than farm	8	9	15	11	15	12	27	8
	Number							
Total respondents	291	97	111	384	278	69	86	354

1/ The Ozark Region is excluded from analysis because only 65 household heads interviewed were Negro or races other than white.

Table 34.--Employment status and labor force participation, household heads, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Employment status of household heads	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Percent					
In the labor force	73		61		81	
Unemployed, civilian labor force	(5)		(4)		(3)	
Not in civilian labor force	27	100	39	100	19	100
Housewife		3		34		13
Retired		26		47		56
Disabled		12		13		31
Retired and disabled		59		5		---
Student		---		1		---
	Number					
Total	1,249		1,413		1,001	

Table 35.--Employment status of poor and nonpoor household heads, Delta, Ozarks, and South Carolina, 1966

Employment Status	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor	Poor	Nonpoor
	Percent					
Employed	58	83	35	68	79	78
Unemployed	5	---	2	3	5	1
Housewife	1	---	21	11	3	2
Retired	8	6	27	16	3	16
Disabled	5	1	13	2	10	3
Retired & disabled 1/	22	10	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A
Other	---	---	2	---	---	---
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Number					
	652	504	353	1,030	439	563

1/ Data are not comparable in Ozarks and South Carolina studies.

Table 36.--Level of disability by agricultural and nonagricultural occupation group, Delta, Ozarks, South Carolina, 1966

Level of disability	Delta		Ozarks		South Carolina	
	Agricultural	Nonagricultural	Agricultural	Nonagricultural	Agricultural	Nonagricultural
	Percent					
No disability	74	83	75	91	83	92
Partial disability	26	17	25	9	17	8
	Number					
All heads	510	299	194	620	362	420

Table 37.--Disability level by age, poor household heads, Delta, Ozarks, South Carolina, 1966

Selected age groupings	Total respondents	Level of disability		
		None	Partial	Total
	Number	Percent		
DELTA				
Total	625	53	30	17
65 years & over	199	30	37	33
Under 65	426	65	26	9
45-64	249	54	33	13
35-44	96	71	21	8
Under 35	81	89	11	---
OZARKS				
Total	347	48	37	15
65 years & over	178	41	48	11
Under 65	169	55	27	18
45-64	99	46	33	21
35-44	44	62	18	20
Under 35	26	81	15	4
SOUTH CAROLINA				
Total	487	67	18	15
65 years & over	105	31	29	40
Under 65	382	76	15	9
45-64	186	59	25	16
35-44	107	90	7	3
Under 35	89	97	3	---

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